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ABSTRACT

Based on interviews with private-tutoring-business entrepreneurs, this paper provides a qualitative analysis of some organizational and ideological transformations in the teacher profession with the advent of market professionals within the private-education sector. No longer simply a means to generate additional income, the private-tutoring industry today promises full-time business opportunities and careers for well-educated investors from a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds. Initial research suggests that the enormous popularity of these businesses rests on the organizational and environmental fit between their services and increased consumer demands for individualized education. The goals of the paper are twofold. First, the paper examines the effects of market professionalism on the education sector based on a 2-year pilot study of private-tutoring businesses in Ontario, Canada. Second, the paper examines how market professionals reconcile shifting social purposes (social betterment vs. profit) with broader culture ideals. The increased popularity of these businesses signals not only the diffusion of market professional services but also parents' increased reliance upon professionals located outside the public-education sector. (Contains 68 references.) (Author)

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May 2003

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Market Professionals in the Private Tutoring Industry: Balancing Profitability with the Humanistic Face of Schooling

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May 2003

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Abstract

Based on interviews with private tutoring business entrepreneurs, this paper provides a qualitative analysis of some organizational and ideological transformations in the teacher profession with the advent of market professionals within the private education sector. No longer simply a means to generate additional income, the private tutoring industry today promises full-time business opportunities and careers for well-educated investors from a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds. Initial research suggests that the enormous popularity of these businesses rests on the organizational and environmental 'fit' between their services and increased consumer demands for individualized education.

Introduction

In recent decades professions have undergone several organizational and ideological transformations. First, traditional professions (once limited to medicine, law and the clergy) have broadened to include occupations such as social work, accounting, journalism, occupational therapy, nursing and teaching. These recent additions have mimicked the attributes of established professions by aligning themselves with credentialing institutions, by developing professional associations and licensing requirements, and through the procurement of a state recognized jurisdiction over a body of knowledge. Many of these inclusions lack the same degree of technical specialization and authority over their jurisdiction of work as enjoyed by more established professions. Consequently, these additions are often considered 'semi' or 'minor' professions (Brint, 1994; Filson, 1988; Glazer, 1974; Ingersoll, 2001; Lortie, 1977; Pace, 2003).

This paper focuses on a second transformation: the evolving consciousness of professions with the advent of more 'market-orientated' professions. In popular imagination, professionalized and semi-professionalized occupations have traditionally embodied both a technical core and moral consciousness, adhering to the practice of social betterment and public service. This ideal may develop alongside other gate-keeping mechanisms and support professionals' claim to authority

(Brint 1994:23). Indeed, a commitment to public welfare has been a key dimension in both lay and sociological understandings of the nature of professionalized work (Brint, 1994; Durkheim, 1957; Lockhart, 1991; Waters, 1989).[1] This understanding has been informally referred to as a professional 'calling' or formally in the way of institutionalized codes of professional conduct or 'oaths'. As such, professionals have sometimes been referred to as 'social trustees' of socially important knowledge (Brint, 1994).

While social trustee professions continue to evolve, market professions are emerging *alongside* and *within* the formally bound spheres of social trustee professions. Market professionals, unlike their predecessor, need no claim to moral authority and instead justify their jurisdictional rights largely on the basis of marketable specializations (Brint 1994:8).[2] Social trustee professionals have long engaged in market activities connected to personal rather than public service. Plastic surgeons, corporate lawyers and engineers working for multinational private companies are just a few examples of traditional professions that trade their expertise for personal gain, rather than social betterment. Yet, unlike social trustee professions, new market professions may not have tight connections with institutions of higher education, professional associations, or demand licensing requirements. As a result, these professionals do not necessarily have the institutional or ideological trappings typically associated with traditional professionals or conform to strict typologies or classification schemes. Freed from the obligations social betterment goals imply, market professional activities are largely dependent upon their relative specialization and relationship to the market.

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[1] The distinction between the moral consciousness of professionals and self-interested businesspersons has "long been something of a myth advanced by partisans of the non-business professions" (Brint 1994:47). There is little evidence that demonstrates that traditional professions (e.g. medicine) are solely (or even partly) motivated by social betterment goals, even when compared to other non-professionalized occupations. In recent years this social trustee ideal has become more closely associated with the public and non-profit sector (Brint 1994:11).

To illustrate the changing nature of professions, this paper examines one exemplary case; private tutoring entrepreneurs. In recent years, the private tutoring industry has grown into a billion dollar industry, serving almost two million children a year in North America (Aurini and Davies, 2003; Davies, Aurini and Quirke, 2002; Gubernick and Burger, 1997). For instance, in 1997 17% of parents in Canada with school age children have hired tutors at some time, 9% were currently using tutors and 50% of parents would hire a tutor if it were affordable (Davies, 2003). In Ontario, the number of tutoring businesses increased by over 60%, from 245 to 396 locations in just seven years (Aurini and Quirke, 2002; Ontario Business Directory, 1996-2002). At the local level, the number of private tutoring companies in Toronto has increased from 10 locations in the mid-1960s and 1970s to 74 locations in 2000. This growth has occurred irrespective of enrollment levels or economic growth (Aurini and Davies, 2003).

This industry has not only grown, but has dramatically reconfigured its role in education. Once limited to homework support and test prep, highly sophisticated tutoring operations are emerging, offering a wide range of educational services (Aurini and Davies, 2003). Some tutoring businesses bundle a variety of services together and label themselves as 'learning centres'. Learning centre services include preschool programs, math and reading programs, writing and public speaking programs and, in some instances, courses for accreditation. Often this new model of tutoring is developed as a franchise and, in some instances, a comprehensive private school.[3] In recent years this industry has drawn a diverse army of education enthusiasts and businesspersons alike, appealing to entrepreneurs' pedagogical and business aspirations. Tutoring franchises are

[3] The tutoring franchise is a relatively recent phenomenon that has enjoyed a spectacular ascent. For instance, *Sylvan*, just one of the over half million franchises in North America, was named the number one franchise in the United States by *Success Magazine* (2000) ahead of more familiar franchises such as *McDonalds* and *Mail Boxes Etc* (Nelson, 1995). The revenues these tutoring franchises collect are enormous. For instance, the publicly traded *Sylvan,* had revenues of $157 million dollars in 1996, while the international company *Kumon* (which has 24,000 centres worldwide) grosses approximately $400 million dollars per year (Forbes,1997:121).

particularly attractive to teachers as well as 'non-education' professionals. The franchise form provides the franchisee (the individual owner of a franchise location) a template for running a business, access to capital, business expertise and a connection to large-scale organizational networks in return for a franchise fee and royalties (Nelson, 1995).[4]

The goals of this paper are twofold. First, this paper examines the effects of market professionalism on the education sector based on a two-year pilot study of private tutoring businesses in Ontario[5]. In Canada, education (particularly at the elementary and secondary level) has been largely insulated from entrepreneurial innovations until recently. Although non-public education preceded and has always existed alongside public schooling, private education has been largely restricted to elite and non-profit religious schools. These private school forms have typically had a social trustee component, promising both a traditional (elite) and moral (religious) mandate. In recent years, however, *for-profit* private education has grown at an exponential rate.[6] In addition to private tutoring entrepreneurs, new education professionals include educational consultants, childrearing specialists and private schools and pre-school entrepreneurs. For-profit education marks a sharp divergence from the 'social trustee' professional to a more 'market' model of professional in the content and delivery of schooling. Broadly, these changes reflect a more pervasive ideological shift in the delivery of traditional public services (Nelson, 1995).

Private tutoring entrepreneurs not only represent shifting professional activity and social purpose, but also a "splintering" of moral and technical aspirations within a professional stratum (Brint 1994:11). Part of this transformation has been the movement of public school employees

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[4] Depending on the franchise brand and territory, franchise fees can range between US$40,000 and $250,000.
[5] These data were collected with Scott Davies as part of a larger project on private education in Canada.
[6] Private school enrolments in Ontario, for example, have grown by nearly 40% since 1992, to 4.6% of total enrolments (Statistics Canada, 2001). Between 1991 and 2001, the number of private schools in Ontario climbed by nearly half, from 511 to 755 schools, enrolling more than 100,000 students. (X and Xxx, 2002). At the tertiary level, universities are increasingly urged to adopt market-like traits and conduct lucrative research aimed at commercial ends in a process dubbed 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997).

(social trustee professionals) into private sector education domains. In fact many tutoring businesses and franchises are owned and operated by former public school teachers. It will be demonstrated that the emphasis on individualized services frees these professionals from the confines of moral obligation and social development. Their ability to respond to changing consumer taste sheds the need to separate monetary from organizational goals.

Second, this paper examines how market professionals reconcile shifting social purposes (social betterment vs. profit) with broader cultural ideals. The tension between these two goals resides with more recent childrearing ideologies that conceives children's 'needs' in more specialized and elaborate ways (Davies, Aurini and Quirke, 2002; Hays, 1996; Stevens, 2001; Wrigley, 1989; Zelizer, 1985) and the tenuousness of providing a for-profit service for children. Further, private tutoring entrepreneurs include a mixture of entrepreneurs from a wide range of specialties including physics, psychology and geography, in addition to credentialed teachers. Thus, these businesses cannot rely upon the traditional appeals of professional authority to legitimate their activities.

Initial research suggests that these businesses develop their programs and structure their institutional arrangements to manage these contradictions. As education becomes increasingly conceived as a medium for personal, rather than social, advancement, the advantages of education increasingly have been conceptualized as "selective and differential", rather than as "collective and equal" (Labaree 1997: 51). Similar to other human services (e.g. fitness trainers; consultants), market services are not so much rare, as they are packaged to respond to the immediate needs of their clients. These businesses' ability to supply individualized and 'tailored' education resonate with these shifts and more recent cultural narratives that conceives parents as 'clients', 'consumers' or 'partners' with education (David 1993:13). Indeed, the ability to provide an 'individualized'

service (e.g. small student-teacher ratios, customized programs) is a common feature across several sectors in the private education industry (Davies, Aurini and Quirke, 2002).

Private tutoring businesses exemplify this trend towards the marketing of individualized or 'niche' educational services. These responses to the increased individualistic stance towards the value of credentials and, more generally, childrearing ideologies reflect the changing role and consciousness of educational professionals. Learning centres in particular represent the marriage of business and schooling, providing a 'one-stop-shopping', mass-produced education service that is marketed as 'customized' to the individual needs of their clientele. It will be demonstrated that the franchise form is particularly well-suited for managing these conflicts by harmonizing the internal demands of running a profitable business with the external demands of providing a service for children. The franchise form provides centralized control over the creation and delivery of educational services, while at the same time gives individual franchise owners' local discretion and a personal stake in fostering positive community relations. Local ownership also provides franchises with a 'face' behind the corporate enterprise. It will be argued that the success of these for-profit education businesses hinges on their ability to balance profitability with the more humanistic face of schooling.

Contributions

Broadly, this study examines the work and structural attributes of market professionals within the context of changes in professions, childrearing and schooling strategies. There is currently very little academic research on private tutoring. This omission is partly because unlike other educational ventures (e.g. charter schools), the private tutoring industry operates in a largely unregulated market that is beyond the reach of most government data collection methods (Bray,

1999). The research that has been collected has largely been quantitative, focusing primarily on tutoring outside of the North American context. These studies contribute the increased use of private tutoring with school entrance exams, tight school to work connections or as a market reaction to an under-funded education system (Stevenson and Baker, 1992; Bray, 1999; Baker et al, 2001).

In light of these studies, the proliferation of private tutoring in Canada is remarkable. Canada (and to a lesser extent, the United States) lacks characteristics typically associated with private tutoring use. Canada's and the United States' schooling systems encourage mainly academic schooling, more flexible and limited tracking at the secondary level and wider access to higher education (Brint 1998: 31; Davies and Hammack, 2001). It is also difficult to attribute the expansion of private tutoring solely to insufficient educational expenditures. In Canada expenditures on education now exceed $50 billion annually (Guppy and Davies 1998:xxv), a figure that surpasses the OECD average. For instance, in 1999 Canada spent 5.3% of its GDP on education, compared with 4.9% OECD average. Further, these studies tend to focus on the rationales behind tutoring 'use', rather than examining private tutoring as an 'education business' in the context of other types of educational innovation. Contrary to previous work on private tutoring, I treat the private tutoring industry as an extension of schooling innovation and changing professional boundaries and childrearing strategies.

The sociology of the family literature situates these services within the context of changing child-rearing practices. With a few exceptions (Adler and Adler, 1994; Lareau, 2000; Lareau, 2002; Stevens, 2001), most studies provide a largely descriptive analysis of one aspect of home-life such as time use of children (Hofferth and Sanberg, Juster and Stafford 1985) and parent-children activities (Bianchi, 2000; Bianchi and Robinson, 1997; Zick and Bryant, 1996) or in mothers' and

fathers' contributions to childcare (Hertz and Marshall, 2001; Jacobs and Gerson, 1998). Instead, this examination builds on research that suggests that the growth and widespread ability of outside for-profit educational pursuits mark both the increased involvement and individualist orientation parents are taking toward their children's personal and intellectual development (Aurini and Quirke, 2002; Adler and Adler, 1994; Davies, Aurini and Quirke, 2002; Lareau, 2000; Lareau, 2002; Stevens, 2001).

This study also addresses large gaps in the occupations literature noted by Abbott (1988,1991). Abbott has been especially critical of the abundance of structural analyses of professionalizaton processes at the expense of empirical studies that examine the work of professionals. Indeed the impact of privatization on professional work in the education sector has been largely ignored. My research provides an empirical analysis of both the organizational or structural changes *and* the changing role of educational professionals. To accomplish this, I extend Brint's (1994) work that recognizes that the professional sphere in which a professionalized occupation resides shapes its logic (e.g. public-minded vs. self-interested), conditions of employment (e.g. for-profit or non-profit, self-employed vs. employee) as well as their relationship with the marketplace (e.g. public vs. private employee) (Brint, 1994) to private tutoring entrepreneurs.

I also extend the literature on teacher professionalism (Depaepe and Simon, 1997; Filson, 1988; Hargreaves, 1994; Lockhart, 1991; Lortie, 1977; Raelin, 1989; Pace, 2002, Zeichner, 1991) and parental involvement literature (Brown, 1990; David et al, 1993; Entwisle and Alexander, 1993; Fuller et al, 1996; Lareau 2000, 2002; Lee and Fitzgerald, 1990; West et al, 1998,) written almost exclusively on public schools, to the expanding private education sector.

Methods

From January 2001 to January 2002 twenty-one semi-structured 60 to 90 minute interviews were conducted with the founders and owners of private tutoring businesses in the southern Ontario area.[7] The businesses were all located in or near large urban centres, primarily in shopping plazas or small business parks. The unstructured nature of the interviews allowed participants to speak freely about their business, their customers and the industry more generally. Nineteen of the interviews were conducted at the tutoring location and two of the interviews were conducted over the phone at the interviewee's request. Four of the interviews were with the founders or representatives from the corporate office of learning centre franchises (Interview 2001: 1-4); seven interviewees owned and operated tutoring franchises (Interview 2001: 5-11); one interviewee owned and operated a private school affiliated with a major tutoring company (Interview 2001:12); and the remaining interviews consisted of a mixture of representatives and founders of single location tutoring businesses and one university student who conducted in-home tutoring (Interview 2001: 13-21).

I found my subjects primarily through the phone book and then contacted them by telephone. All but one entrepreneur agreed to be interviewed. The interview subjects and businesses examined were limited to only those businesses that provide for-profit instruction in academic subjects taught in mainstream elementary and secondary schools. Tutors and tutoring businesses that focused on ESL (English as a second language), language instruction, music, art and other educational endeavors for personal development or pleasure were not considered in the scope of this study. Also not considered were publicly subsidized or informal volunteer tutoring networks provided, for example, through family, friends and libraries. Additionally, corporate training or "test prep" companies were also excluded. The remaining telephone listings served as my sampling

[7] These interviews were conducted with Scott Davies who is also currently researching for-profit education innovations in Canada.

frame, with the goal of interviewing a cross section of tutoring businesses and franchises. These limitations were intentional, and allowed me to focus on private tutoring businesses that provide services found in public schools.[8]

Second, all tutoring businesses produce a substantial array of brochures and flyers, while some also support web sites. The larger learning centres also create their own magazine that is distributed to their franchises and to their customers. Data from these sources provides a non-obtrusive method to access learning centres institutionalized policies that include its mission statements, program information, hiring practices, educational philosophies and methodologies.[9]

Shifting Purpose and Internal Divisions: Emerging Market Professionalism within the Private Tutoring Industry

The explosion of tutoring businesses and franchises marks not just growth, but a revolution in the content and delivery of supplemental education. In the past, tutoring in North America consisted of a peppering of 'moon-lighting' tutors and 'test prep' companies (e.g. Princeton Review). This form of tutoring has sometimes been referred to as 'shadow education' to denote the ways in which it mimics the formal school system. Test prep and homework support are both manifestations of shadow education (Bray, 1999; Stevenson and Baker, 1992). While shadow education continues to thrive, a more standardized form of tutoring is emerging in the form of a

[8] Additional interviews have also been conducted with two voluntary regulatory bodies, private school and private tutoring parents and preschool owners. Some of these interviews were conducted with Scott Davies and Linda Quirke.

[9] This research has also been informed by data collected from a one-year participant observation study, not included in this paper. Between May 2001 and May 2002, I tutored at one of the largest tutoring franchises in Canada. As a tutor I gained an insider's view of the private tutoring franchise industry including its practices, policies and employees. These employees included fellow tutors, as well as managers who are referred to as 'education directors' or 'education coordinators'. As a tutor I also engaged with the demand side of tutoring, namely its students and parents, on a regular basis. In addition to conducting bi-weekly two to three hour tutoring sessions, I also participated in training workshops, staff meetings, meetings with the education director and coordinator as well as having access to their teaching methodology and instructional manuals.

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tutoring franchise or 'learning centre'. This evolved tutoring form is attracting a new type of educational entrepreneur. No longer simply a means to generate additional income, the private tutoring industry today promises full-time business opportunities and careers for well-educated investors from a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds. This transformation has several implications for the teaching profession and, more generally, the delivery of social trustee services.

Breakdown of Expert Authority, Autonomy and Moralistic Core?

Professionalization has been agreed to include a variety of 'events' (Abbott, 1991) and attributes which include: sole control over the constitution and application over a body of knowledge; autonomy and authority over training and work jurisdictions; the development of schools and credentialing institutions, professional associations and licensing bodies (Abbott 1988; Abbott 1991; Abbott 1993; Freidson 1986; Freidson 2001; Ingersoll, 2001; Larson, 1977; MacDonald, 1995; Raelin, 1989). The following examination illustrates how private tutoring entrepreneurs are gaining an enormous amount of authority over education despite lacking the central qualities attributed to professional legitimization namely: credentialed expert authority, autonomy and a moralistic core.

Credentialed Expert Authority : Teachers' professional authority was built upon the notion that educating children demanded the guidance of trained educators. Similar to other professions, institutional arrangements emerged to organize and coordinate the training of teachers' work (Freidson, 2001; Larson, 1977). Ideally these mechanisms promise a degree of quality control in addition to insulating teachers from external competition. Institutionalized control also encourages

occupational solidarity and community through the enforcement of similar training and occupational channels (Brint, 1994; Freidson, 2001).[10] These 'rights of passage' include teachers' colleges, licensing bodies, teacher federations, boards of education and so forth.

Not only has teaching conformed to the organizational structure of established professions, but has also adopted expansive social betterment ideals. Typical of most public boards, the Toronto District School Board's mission statement to "...enable all students to reach high levels of achievement and to acquire the knowledge, skills and values they need to become responsible members of a democratic society" and a commitment to nurturing "the uniqueness and diversity of our students.....and equity", reflect broader ideals of citizenship, equality and so forth (TDSB, 2003). Thus, like other human service professionals, the teaching profession has attempted to embody both the organizational structure and ideology of more established professions.

Similar to other professions, however, "the old connection between community and authority has been largely severed in the contemporary professionalized world" as stereotypes of "highly educated professions shifted from portraits emphasizing...the humanistic culture to images emphasizing...market consciousness" (Brint 1994: 14-15). Indeed, many professions now engage in the marketplace, adhering to personal rather than social betterment goals. The private education sector parallels this transformation, exemplified by the emergence of various forms of for-profit education. The transmission of education by market professionals signals a radical break in the delivery of formerly social trustee services and challenges the traditional basis of teacher authority. Private tutoring businesses exemplify the breakdown in teacher professional authority in two ways:

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[10] Members of professionalized occupations experience similar 'rights of passage' delineated by the professional association and/or licensing body. Members in training must take similar courses, write or take special exams and are often separated from other students, even in their own school (Freidson 2001:100). To practice, professions must often join and maintain membership with professional associations. Labour market conditions have created competition amongst professionals within the same occupational stratum, eroding the solidarity among members. For instance, the uneven development of professionalized occupations (e.g. law); deregulation of fees for professional services and so forth have fueled competition within professions (Brint 1994: 9-10).

1) the expansion and splintering of teacher authority over education and 2) an encroachment of market professionals over the content and delivery of schooling.

Today, teachers must share the role of 'professional educator' with 'experts' from an increasing breadth of educational and occupational genres. No longer limited to the teaching, medical or religious community, new experts include the psychology community, social workers, media representatives, self-proclaimed childrearing or educational specialists in addition to an array of private businesses that engage in the educational marketplace. Thus while the presence of experts has grown, the source of advice has broadened to include market professionals who may not possess formal credentials.

Private tutoring entrepreneurs represent this break, shedding both the ideological and organizational endowments characteristic of social trustee professionals. Instead, these professional adopt a market-orientation towards the creation and delivery of education. In fact, a professional degree or experience in education or related field is not a prerequisite for purchasing a tutoring franchise or operating a tutoring business. These qualifications are not necessary because tutoring business owners and franchisees conceptualize themselves as 'managers' not teachers or educators. In the tutoring franchise sector, teachers are often not viewed as the most desirable investor because they lack 'entrepreneurial' or 'commercial' ambition. The following quote is typical of all the franchisers interviewed:

> **N.W.** "We have some teachers in the system. Generally we find that teachers lack ambition, I mean commercial ambition.....and they don't have a sense of business investment. They're used to an environment whereby your federation or your union guarantees...you don't put in extra effort unless you're paid sort of thing, it's a big paradigm shift for them."

To compensate for teachers' 'lack' of commercial ambition, many franchises demand that teacher-franchisees hire a 'business' person to fill the assistant manager role, sometimes referred to as an 'education coordinator'. Although some franchise owners conduct tutoring sessions, most focus strictly on the administrative aspects of running a business. The entrepreneurs stressed that the primary function of the franchisee is not to 'teach', but to manage. The franchiser often takes responsibility for providing at least initial (and in some instances, ongoing) training for their franchisees. As one franchiser explained:

> **M.B.** "What we teach them (franchisees) is how to run a business. So eventually we (the franchiser) become obsolete…the key is to give them the tools to market themselves, that they have a marketing plan and so on."

Teachers who successfully develop tutoring businesses or purchase franchises represent the internal splintering of their profession. As former public employees, the selling of their services for-profit exemplifies a radical shift within the profession by orientating themselves towards markets, rather than public service. Similar to school boards, tutoring franchisers strictly regulate the content and delivery of their products and demand that their franchisees conform to the rules of the organization. Ironically, rather than offering former public school teachers' professional autonomy, tutoring franchises in particular tightly regulate the content and delivery of their services – transforming the 'semi-professional teacher' into a 'semi-market professional'.

Private tutoring businesses also represent an encroachment on teachers' professional authority over the content and delivery of schooling. Traditional tutors adhere to this professional authority by providing supplemental or 'shadow' education that follows the curriculum mandated by teachers and, more generally, school boards. Often students use this brand of tutoring as a short-

term strategy to improve a grade or prepare for an exam. As an aggregate, tutors typically enter and exit the marketplace frequently, providing their services on a fairly ad hoc basis.

Conversely, tutoring businesses and franchises often develop their own curriculum and evaluation tools, rather than 'shadowing' the public education system.[11] Based on entrance diagnostic tests, tutoring businesses and franchises place students in a program, irrespective to what they are working on in school. Test preparation of homework support that relies upon school materials are discouraged. Many of the larger tutoring franchises have curriculum departments located at their head office that maintain or develop programs, various instruction manuals and workbooks for their clientele. Some of the larger franchises also publish education leaflets or magazines for their parents and franchisees, in addition to an array of materials for sale over the internet. Additionally, several of these businesses are currently, or aspire to, offer courses for accreditation and, in some instances, develop into comprehensive private schools. Indeed, many new private schools in Ontario emerged from private tutoring businesses (Aurini and Quirke, 2002). In this way, tutoring businesses and franchises encroach upon teacher's professional authority by offering alternative, rather than supplemental, education.

Professional Autonomy: Professionalized occupations' legitimacy hinges upon their ability to maintain congruence between their organizational structure and socially shared understandings of

[11] Interestingly, learning centres create divisions between themselves and the school system by developing their own materials, methods of assessment and by failing to "shadow" the student's schoolwork. Yet these same businesses provide a counter-supply of mass schooling that builds its own legitimacy by constructing a program that looks considerably like their school counterpart in terms of its program and institutional arrangements. Similar to formal school systems for example, learning centres create workbooks, lessons, diagnostic testing and report cards. Learning centres also have an "education director" who occupies a "vice principal" role in the centre. Education directors act as a liaison between parents and tutors and often are responsible for ensuring the integrity of the program is realized. Often, education directors are responsible for arranging meetings with parents to discuss the progress of their child, similar to a parent-teacher meeting.

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professionalized work (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; 1978).[12] The highly specialized nature of professional work is often believed to demand state-recognized self-regulation. As such, professionals should enjoy a high degree of autonomy over their jurisdiction of work without interference from 'outsiders', located beyond the clearly marked boundaries of a professionalized occupation (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001).

As semi-professionals, teachers have never realized the same degree of autonomy enjoyed by more established professions such as medicine or engineering. Indeed many recent educational reforms in Ontario have been initiated from above (government) and, more recently, from below (e.g. parental advocacy groups), rather than internally prescribed from within the teaching profession (Davies and Guppy, 1997). Perceived inefficiencies and lack of accountability in the public sector has fueled many of initiatives such as standardized curriculum and tests for both students and teachers. Additionally, parental involvement has not only increased, but has been institutionalized in recent years with the introduction of formal appraisal processes for parents and students, the creation of the Ontario Parent Council and parent survey (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1999- 2002). These reforms are intended to strengthen the connection between the curriculum and the classroom by demanding schools demonstrate that they effectively and consistently meeting provincial standards.

Conversely, the private education industry can be described as unregulated and un-standardized. Private tutoring entrepreneurs (and their tutors) are not necessarily certified teachers; moreover, these businesses are not regulated, nor expected to conform to government imposed educational mandates. In fact, there are few (if any) mechanisms to ensure that the services that

[12] Meyer and Rowan (1978) argue that organizational management of standardized classifications (rules of governance and classification rules) are socially important for the allocation of people to positions within stratification systems. In this article, the authors argue that the institutional legitimacy of schools depends on their ability to incorporate socially shared understandings of education within their organizational structure.

these businesses provide are effective in terms of boosting educational performance or stimulating children's cognitive development. Instead, some businesses offer internally defined yardsticks to measure the effectiveness of their program including retesting their students periodically (using their own diagnostic tests) or with more subjective measures such as tutors' assessments. Additionally, the services that these businesses provide are not rare or 'esoteric' – staples of traditional social trustee authority. Arguably, the services that private tutoring businesses and franchises provide are available through a wide range of informal (e.g. friends, neighbours) and formal (e.g. public schools; libraries) networks.

These businesses have also not been able to successfully garner government support, instead opting to affiliate themselves with private, voluntary organizations. Yet, mandatory affiliations with state recognized governing bodies are an enduring feature of social trustee professionals. Indeed state recognition and protection is a core feature in successful professionalization, and to social trustee legitimization more generally. Market professionals in the private tutoring industry have made several unsuccessful attempts to secure government legitimization in the form of tax credits and contacts with public school boards. Instead most tutoring businesses and learning centre franchises have aligned themselves with non-governmental associations or regulatory bodies. These businesses often opt to join associations that reflect their organizational structure (e.g. franchise) or with self-regulatory bodies. For instance, many of the learning centre franchises are members of the Canadian Franchise Association (CFA), an organization that represents hundreds of Canadian franchises including restaurants, car rental and parcel services.

Moralistic Core: In theory, mass education is an instrument for social betterment and nation-building. As a social good, public education embodies the spirit of professional ideology, poised to

promote citizenship, equal access and treatment (Labaree, 1997). The wave of educational expansion throughout the 1960s targeted teachers as key agents of these lofty social betterment goals. Similar to other professions, teaching has often been portrayed as a 'calling'. Yet, placing education on the marketplace rocks the very foundation of the social trustee ideology. Although tutoring is markedly less expensive than private schooling, which ranges from $8000 to $30,000 per year, for many the cost of these services are still prohibitive. Most private tutoring companies charge $250 to $400 per month for eight hours of tutoring. Contrary to the spirit behind public education, these services may promote, rather than reduce, inequality since only the wealthiest and savviest parents are able to tap into their advantages (Davies, Aurini and Quirke, 2002). The engagement of former public school teachers in particular into the private education industry stretches the traditional moral consciousness of social trustee professionals.

Summary: Despite lacking the traditional basis of authority, private tutoring business and franchise services have enjoyed enormous currency in recent years. Indeed, their popularity is a testament to their legitimacy as education authorities. On what basis do these businesses garner their legitimacy and authority over education?

In part, these claims to authority operate successfully because there is an organizational and environmental 'fit' between the services that tutoring businesses provide and shifting consumer demands for individualized education. In fact, all of these businesses promote their services as responding to the individualized needs of their clientele. "Developing your child's gifts and talents" (FastTrackKids International), "personalized programme(s)..to meet his or her individualized needs" ("Senior Math", Sylvan) and "encouraging creativity" by allowing children to work at their own pace to nurture their unique learning styles ("Improved Grades, Improved Confidence", Oxford

Learning Centre) are common themes throughout tutoring business and franchise literature and mission statements. Schools unable to make these claims or meet these demands may appear stagnate and unresponsive in comparison. As an aggregate, these businesses' ability to respond to these demands appears to have degraded traditional stakes in professional authority. Indeed, the increased reliance upon these businesses has serious consequences to the teaching profession as market professionals (who may not have formalized training) are increasingly seen as legitimate education providers.

As a result, teacher authority has been destabilized with the introduction and expansion of schooling options that compete and, sometimes, conflict with their jurisdiction of work and foundation of expert knowledge. Market authority can rest more on the assertion of a professional-client relationship, sealed with the exchange of funds for educational services. This relationship is not fully realized in the public sector with tenuousness of teacher professionalism (Depaepe and Simon, 1997; Filson, 1988; Lockhart, 1991; Pace 2002:39; Raelin, 1989; Zeichner, 1991), and non-voluntary nature (unlike most professional-client relationships) of compulsory schooling (Bidwell, 1970; Pace, 2002).

2) Buffering Monetary and Childrearing Ideologies in the Private Education Sector

Providing a traditional social trustee service 'for-profit' should stand diametrically opposed to more recent conceptualizations of childrearing and child worth. Tutoring businesses reconcile this tension by framing their services to resonate with parental demands, both in terms schooling expectations and outcomes. New ideologies of childrearing increasingly stress the necessity for parents to engage their children's unique intellectual development and personalities (Davies, Aurini and Quirke, 2002; Hays, 1996; Stevens, 2001; Wrigley, 1989; Zelizer, 1985). This engagement has

diffused the nexus of education from local public schools, into the private domain. Markets have shaped the nature of this transformation by increasingly emphasizing activities that 'stimulate' children's intellectual development.[13] Tutoring franchises and learning centres respond to these new demands by offering a wide range of programs and services and small student-teacher ratios. These businesses espouse broad mission statements and produce an array of literature to parents, attempting to capture this transformation. The largest Canadian franchise, *Oxford Learning Centre*, in their literature challenges students to "Turbo Charge Your Brain" and "take charge" of their learning.

> The OXFORD program energizes the cognitive ability of the student to *absorb* and process information. This power stays with the student for life…OXFORD's program of cognitive development not only produces higher marks but also helps students develop better learning and processing skills for life (Oxford: Beyond Tutoring)

Typical of most tutoring businesses and learning centres, Oxford stresses their ability to provide 'customized programs' and 'individualized' services. This personal service ethos resonates with current parenting demands for tailored education. The following section will consider this in further detail.

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[13] Enriched preschools (e.g. Montessori) are one such example. Since 1970, this industry has grown from 39 to 82 businesses in 2001 in Toronto (author's own data). Unlike traditional daycare or babysitting services; enriched preschools provide structured programs to preschool children that have a developmental or cognitive focus. The philosophy of Montessori, for example, promotes the 'whole child' that includes the "development of social skills, emotional growth, and physical coordination as well as cognitive preparation" (CCMA, 2002). Enriched preschools exemplify this new brand of intensive parenting that increasingly relies on the advice and intervention of 'market' professionals. Initial research suggests that although these schools promote their services as cognitively intensive, part of their appeal to parents may also rest on their ability to provide customized education.

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Conflicting Logics: Harmonizing Business and Changing Childrearing Strategies

The spirit of social trustee professionalism in the education sector has been eroded as parents increasingly seek tailored education. In this context, the business motivations of market professionals are neutralized by their ability to offer individualized services that resonate with these changing conceptions of child rearing.

Interestingly, this connection (between business and childrearing goals) is made by creating divisions between the business of education and the service itself by: a) creating a barrier between owner or franchisers and customer; b) by selecting franchisees who are both business and public minded; and c) by encouraging their franchisees to interact with the community in a non-business way.

Separating Markets from Education

The franchise form in particular provides a vehicle that marries monetary and educational aspirations together. The institutionalized structure created in the franchise form incorporates externally defined elements that do not conflict with the internal demands of the tutoring business. Unlike other types of service businesses (e.g. hair dressers), tutoring franchise clients are largely comprised of young children. The franchise form shields clients from the potentially 'offensive' aspects of engaging children profit-making activities since parents must believe that the services have been devised to maximize personal service, not profitability. Yet, parents are not unaware of the for-profit motivations of these businesses. Rather, their appeal rests on their ability to respond to changing consumer preferences by providing small student-teacher ratios and individualized programs.

Often tutoring franchisers select front-line workers and potential franchisees by their ability to balance profit-seeking ends with the more humanistic face of schooling. The most desirable franchisee is a hybrid, espousing both business and educational aspirations.

> **M.B.** "The guy who says 'I'm doing this because I want to make $100,000 a year', even though he can make a $100,000, won't be successful. It's the person who says, 'I like this business and I'm choosing this for two reasons, my heart and my head'. The guy who chooses this for his head will fail every time. The guy who picks this for his heart will probably fail every time. The guy who has the balance of both, who recognizes I want to do the best job, but recognizes I can't do one on one tutoring week in and week out and make money."

This marriage is institutionalized within the organizational arrangements of the tutoring franchise. Often, franchisers demand both a 'business' and a 'education' person manage the franchise. The 'business person' is responsible for all administrative aspects of running the franchise including budgeting, advertising and hiring. The 'education person' is responsible for meeting with parents, administrating diagnostic tests and interacting with the staff. Arguably this arrangement allows the franchise to balance the business and emotional demands of operating a for-profit service for children.

Tutoring businesses and learning centres are also encouraged to interact with the community in a 'non-business' manner.[14] Accordingly, learning centres must manufacture a unique identity for each franchise location to maintain their "specialist-niche" appeal to both their customers and their franchisees. In the case of tutoring franchises, local ownership of each franchise location elevates some of this problem. Franchisees typically live near and are required to work full-time in the

[14]. Shadow education providers by their very nature lack the corporate networks and standardized services, providing a truly customized service. Shadow educators are members of a community – they are often neighbours, friends, teachers and relatives of the students they tutor.

learning centre. These arrangements provide circumstances that encourage community engagement. As one franchisee explained:

> **Z.** "So that's nice, there's a constant so we're not just going to take them but we're going to give a good program because I have a responsibility, I have an attachment to the people here. I have to walk around here. I shop around here. I live here. My kids go to the schools here. I see it as my community, more than as a business."

Ownership of the learning centre provides franchisees a stake in forging and maintaining good relationships with their customers and the community they are situated in.

Ironically, tutoring franchises typically address this "specialist-niche" education market by providing a mass-produced, centrally developed and distributed service. Inevitably as a tutoring franchise expands, so does the infrastructure needed to meet daily demands. Franchises require an elaborate infrastructure to support their organization and members. To create and distribute the product, advertising and marketing firms are required to build brand recognition and drum up sales; PR firms are needed to scout suitable would-be franchisees; education specialists to create new curricula; graphic designers to design workbooks and promotional materials; regional managers to conduct on-site visits; and managers to oversee the entire production. As a franchise grows, it arguably become more standardized and routinized in the creation, production and distribution of its service (Nelson, 1995). One franchisee who had developed his tutoring franchise into a comprehensive private school, explained:

> **G.C.** "They still are very strict in running the program. It has to match franchise's philosophy, and it has to match that standard of quality control, but by its very nature, as an organization grows, they begin to look for efficiencies, and that's when the bureaucracy starts, and that by its very nature, destroys creativity....because it'll become more bureaucratic, 'this is the rule, this is what you have to do'."

Thus, as the apparatus required to sustain growth increases in complexity, tutoring services become less "niche" and more "mass-like" (see Nelson, 1995). Consequently, the very qualities that made these businesses popular in the first place to parents (e.g. individualized programs) and franchise owners (e.g. ability to "be my own boss") diminish (Nelson 1995).

Local ownership, however, provides the learning centre with a "face" behind the corporate name, logo and services. In addition to engaging with the community in a non-business manner, the owner of the franchise can also create small in-centre activities for their students. For instance, one franchise owner had her preschool students plant flowers and beans in small pots for them water and tend to after their tutoring session was over. Similarly, franchisees can manufacture a sense of community by hosting barbecues, distributing t-shirts, mugs and jackets embossed with the company's logo or by sponsoring local sport teams or events. These activities personalize the tutoring business.

Conclusion: Organizational Innovation within the Framework of Social Betterment

Today, market professionals in the education sector mix organizational innovation within the framework of social betterment. While traditional professionals' knowledge is firmly rooted in a body of formalized knowledge, related to their jurisdiction of work; the legitimacy of market professionals' services hinges upon their ability to link their expertise with markets. Indeed, the growth and diversification of this industry has been driven by both consumer demand and organizational expansion rather than because of any direct public or social 'need', defined by the welfare state. Additionally, these services are not uniformly available on the basis of need, but rather to only those who can afford them.

The private tutoring industry marks this dual movement: 1) the shift from social trustee professionalism to market professionalism and 2) a splintering of professionals within the education sector. Indeed private tutoring entrepreneurs come from a wide assortment of educational and occupational backgrounds including geography, psychology, medicine and business. Consequently, this marks not only the shifting social purpose of professionals, but also the penetration of 'outsiders' into a formally bound sphere.

The private tutoring industry underscores the marriage of between knowledge, capital and education. This distinction marks the professionalization of tutoring, and its evolution from its humble origins, shadow education. These businesses align themselves more readily with markets, rather than collegial control, often developing relationships with business, rather than educational, associations. These businesses neutralize the inherent conflict of providing a for-profit service for children by packaging their service as highly customized to the individual needs of their clientele and by providing a 'face' behind the corporate enterprise. The increased popularity of these businesses signals not only the diffusion of market professional services, but also parents' increased reliance upon professionals located outside of the public education sector. This transformation is indicative of a more general transformation in professions' organizational structure and ideology.

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